WHY VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON LOST THE NEGRO VOTE

The CRISIS

JANUARY, 1961 15¢

JUNIOR LIFE MEMBERSHIP in NAACP

We asked a little girl the other day if she belonged to the NAACP.

"Of course I do," she said, "I'm a Life Member, Junior Grade!"

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Can you think of a better way to invest $100?

What about **your** youngsters?

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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

Vol. 68, No. 1 **Whole Number 579**

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January, 1961

COVER

This quartet of junior models participated in the Sag Harbor, N. Y., NAACP benefit that cleared $500 to support student "sit-ins." The benefit was staged by the youngsters among whom were (from L) Marilyn Mitchell, Cathleen Goring, Ann Marie Sulcette, and Gail Patterson.—Garmel Studio photo

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THE CRISIS was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. THE CRISIS is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at 16 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., Arthur B. Spingarn, president; John Hammond, vice-president; Samuel Williams, secretary; Theodore Spaulding, treasurer; and Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscription $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given, and three weeks notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while THE CRISIS uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July 22, 1949, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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River Rouge-Ecorse, Mich., branch winners in the 1959 membership drive receive awards from Rufus Robinson, state conference regional director: (from L) Mrs. Rosebud Hightower, Carolyn Johnson (certificates), and Mrs. Mary Perry, first place winner of Dr. F. W. Johnson trophy.

Meeks Baptist Church, New York City, makes initial payment on NAACP life membership: (from L) Rev. P. W. Duckworth, pastor; Russell Crawford, former NYC branch president; and David Guions, Meek Church deacon.

■ An analysis of the presidential election and the role of the Negro voter

Why Nixon Lost the Negro Vote

By Gloster B. Current

WHEN the election returns were coming in on the night of November 8, it was soon apparent that the Negro voters in key states with large electoral votes were heavily supporting Senator John F. Kennedy and voting against Vice-President Richard M. Nixon. The Negro vote, which in 1956, according to political analyst Henry Lee Moon, shifted away from the Democrats for a gain of about 19 per cent for the Republican candidate, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, returned *en masse* to the Democrats in 1960.

Detailed studies are currently being prepared, but spot checks across the nation indicate clearly that from New York to California, from Washington to Florida, and the states in between, except possibly in the City of Atlanta, Georgia, Negro voters gave 4 and 5 to 1 majorities to the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. Their support was the essential difference between defeat and victory in history's closest presidential race, especially in the high electoral vote of the states of Illinois (27), Michigan (20), New Jersey (16), Pennsylvania (32), Texas (24), all for a total of 119 electoral votes. Negro votes also provided the winning margin for Kennedy in the states of North Carolina (14) and South Carolina (8).

This conclusion is substantiated by the Gallup Poll of December 8, which found that Negro voters overwhelmingly supported Kennedy in the 1960 election. The Gallup report indicated that Senator Kennedy gained seven percentage points among Negroes in comparison with those of 1956, and that his support from this racial group was equally strong North and South. According to Dr. Gallup, seven out of ten Negroes across the country voted for Senator Kennedy.

If the election had been held in July, the chances are that America's largest minority would have divided

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GLOSTER B. CURRENT is director of NAACP branches and a frequent contributor to *The Crisis*.

its ballots more equitably between both parties. Throughout the primary campaign Negroes, seemingly, were more pro-Humphrey than pro-Kennedy. There were many colored voters who were also favorably disposed toward Mr. Nixon, because of his better-than-fair civil rights' image. Moreover, the religious issue among this largely Protestant-oriented racial group found a goodly number leaning away from Senator Kennedy, in the event of his nomination.

NEGRO ATTITUDES

The attitude of Negroes was more or less reflected at a pre-convention civil-rights rally in Los Angeles, Sunday, July 10, sponsored by the NAACP. The rally, held in conjunction with demonstrations in front of the Convention Auditorium, led by Roy Wilkins, Dr. Martin Luther King, and A. Philip Randolph, helped to focus nation-wide attention upon the desire of Negroes for the adoption of a strong civil-rights platform by the Democratic Party. (A similar rally was held in Chicago, July 24, prior to the Republican Convention)

At the jam-packed meeting in Los Angeles' Shrine Auditorium, attended by more than 6,000 militant partisans of civil rights, both Senators John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson were booed by the largely Negro audience. Senator Kennedy, who attended in person, turned his rather tepid reception into cheers, after telling the somewhat indifferent audience that the next President "cannot stand above the battle, by engaging in vague little sermons on brotherhood." He promised, rather, if elected, to use White House authority to implement all Constitutional rights, including the right to vote, school desegregation, and an end to discrimination in public contracts, employment, and in federal housing programs.

Considering the fact that one of the chief gripes of colored citizens with the Eisenhower Administration was that the retiring President too often failed to speak out forcibly on civil-rights' issues and to personally endorse the 1954 school decision of the United States Supreme Court—except by use of federal troops in Little Rock, which many felt would have been unnecessary if positive measures had been taken earlier and the President had used the moral suasion of his high office—such a promise from the leading presidential candidate was soothing music indeed.

Senator Johnson, fearing, possibly, a hostile audience, failed to appear at the rally, but sent his personal emissary, Oscar L. Chapman, former Secretary of the Interior, a man well-liked by Negroes generally. Chapman did all right in his talk until he mentioned the Texan's name, which evoked a cacophony of catcalls and boos, increasing in intensity upon mention of the name of once-beloved former President Harry S. Truman. The negative reaction to Mr. Truman stemmed from his assertion that the "sit-ins" were Communist-inspired. The sit-ins were enjoying not only wide usage throughout the South by Negro college students, who were being arrested and jailed on charges of loitering, trespassing, and conspiracy; but they also were receiv-

ing national support from civil-rights, social, labor, religious, educational and other groups, as well as world-wide acclaim in the press.

The reception accorded Minnesota's Senator Hubert H. Humphrey was uproarious. Enthusiastic applause punctuated his remarks, for the rapid-speaking Minnesotan has long been a favorite among Negro audiences because of his consistent record on civil-rights as mayor and congressman.

Nor was there great rejoicing among Negroes upon the selection of Senator Johnson, subsequently, as Kennedy's running-mate. Appearing on WNEW-TV's program, "Metropolitan Probe," after the Democratic Convention, NAACP's executive secretary, Roy Wilkins, said "It takes a bit of getting used to, having him as Vice-President on this ticket."

Evidently, Negroes got used to Johnson, for from a low-prestige point among Negro voters last July, the Kennedy-Johnson ticket went on to sweep Negro precincts across the country four months later.

Many observers are agreed upon the reasons for such solid Negro voting *against* Vice-President Nixon, and in favor of a candidate toward whom they had such lukewarm feelings a few months earlier: the economic situation prevailing at election time; a better run campaign in Negro districts by the Democrats; more profitable use of the Negro press by the victors; Republican strategy failures; more alertness on the part of the Democratic candidate, quicker responsiveness to changed situations, and the costly inability of the Republican Party, and its standard-bearer, to properly assess Negro feelings and desires.

The bread-and-butter issue may be given first rank in the factors influencing the Negro vote. Wherever this observer travelled prior to election, there was considerable talk about unemployment. Expressions were heard from industrial workers, elevator operators, bus boys, and from many who were drawing unemployment compensation, that the economic pinch could best be eased by the election of a Democratic administration in November. Figures released by the Department of Labor in October, corroborated the disproportionate unemployment rate among Negroes. And the situation progressively worsened as election day approached. One young person observed: "My daddy says that the only relief we can expect will have to come with the election of Senator Kennedy."

BETTER ORGANIZATION

A post-mortem by the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Kentucky's Senator Thruston B. Morton, the day following the election, attributed the Republican loss to Nixon's failure to hold the Negro vote which went to President Eisenhower in 1956. Morton blamed his Party for taking the Administration's civil rights achievements too much for granted in its over confident belief that these would automatically retain the Negro vote, which had shifted in the previous presidential election. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, disagreed. He blamed Nixon's getting into the radio-tele-

vision debate with Mr. Kennedy as the principal cause of his downfall.

One fact remains outstanding. The Democratic Party's campaign in Negro districts was better organized. A key move by the Kennedy forces, little recognized at the time, perhaps, was the transfer to the Kennedy staff of Frank Reeves, a Washington, D.C., attorney, from the staff of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, after Humphrey's defeat in the West Virginia primary.

Reeves, affable, ebullient, brilliant, and a former NAACP staffer, is well-liked and influential. He travelled throughout the country talking to Negro leaders, many of whom were sitting on the fence, or saying they were not going to vote for either candidate, selling the candidacy of the Bostonian, and at the same time calming fears that Lyndon Johnson would not support the liberal civil-rights platform, if elected Vice-President. Reeves told the skeptical that though his nominee was not as well known among civil-rights adherents, his voting record, according to civil-rights organizational analyses, was passable; that his candidate had a warm heart and could be trusted to deliver on campaign promises. Probing here and there among pro-Nixonites, Reeves was able to get through to the Kennedy high command and make suggestions on campaign strategy and tactics to cope with issues arising during the campaign within the Negro community.

The Democrats also had the advantage of the proved pulling power of distinguished Negro candidates for federal, state, and municipal posts, many of whom were victorious, including the four congressmen who were re-elected: Adam Clayton Powell, New York City; William E. Dawson, Chicago; Charles C. Diggs Jr., Detroit; and Richard N. C. Nix, Philadelphia.

The list of Negro luminaries—artists, athletes, businessmen and professionals — helping the Democrats, signing advertisements, speaking, etc, seemed interminable. Name campaigners openly active included: Assistant Attorney General Herbert E. Tucker of Massachusetts, Attorney Marjorie McKenzie Lawson of Washington D.C., City Councilman Earl Brown and State Senator James L. Watson of New York, Rev. Marshall Shepard, Philadelphia city councilman, former Municipal Judge L. Howard Bennett, Minneapolis; and former City Councilman Oliver Hill of Richmond, Virginia. Other outstanding leaders gave behind-the-scenes aid.

Negro labor leaders also played a conspicuous role, the successful results of which were evidenced by the Gallup poll finding that Negro unionists voted 77 per cent for Kennedy, as compared with a white union vote of 64 per cent for the Democrats. Union officials blanketed Negro organization meetings, state conferences, mass meetings, church seminars and workshops and, supposedly, on a non-partisan basis, worked to increase registration and voting.

At least one trade union political action zealot was not above interfering in a state-wide civil rights organization meeting in a crude attempt to influence labor delegates to vote against the incumbent adminis-

tration, because it was feared, in certain labor circles, that the groups leadership was pro-Republican. The labor delegates, to their credit, resisted this unwarranted intrusion in the affairs of a non-partisan organization and exercised their independent judgement, returning the leadership to office.

A BETTER PRESS

The Kennedy campaign among Negroes had the advantage of a better press, whereas the Nixon campaign hardly got off the ground in colored weeklies. Heading the Negro press section of the Senator's campaign was Louis E. Martin, formerly editor of the Michigan *Chronicle* and now of the Chicago *Defender*. Martin, recently returned from Africa where he helped establish new journals, rendered invaluable aid to the Kennedy cause. Well known among Negro publishers, cognizant of the financial needs of the Negro press and their problems arising from rising newsprint and publishing costs, in addition to competition from daily newspapers in the coverage of racial news, Martin fed the weeklies with copy and saw to the placement of strategic advertising.

The beneficial result was reflected even in the formerly pro-Republican newspapers which became filled with pro-Kennedy information. At least one big paper was neutralized while others openly endorsed the Democratic candidate.

Conversely, the Republicans, for some strange reason, completely wrote off the Negro press and made very little use of this effective medium. There was some advertising placed by the GOP in Negro newspapers, but not in an amount comparable to that of the Democrats.

REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN MISTAKES

A common observation among Negroes is that the Republicans rarely support Negro candidates, when they nominate them, even if they have the blessings of the campaign organization. For example, with an excellent opportunity to garner Negro votes in Harlem, as a result of the anti-Tammany attitudes being openly expressed by colored voters in September, the Hulan Jack fiasco, and antipathy to downtown Democrats, including the mayor, the Republican high command in New York State, nevertheless, made a strategic blunder. Governor Nelson Rockefeller's son, Rodman, was appointed to head the Minority Group Section of the Party's Manhattan campaign. This move was deeply resented by Negro Republicans, not only because of Mr. Rockefeller's youth, but because more deserving and knowledgeable Harlem Republicans were passed over by this appointment. The Party's campaign in Negro districts was poorly conducted, almost as if the Negro vote was not wanted or needed. Mr. Nixon failed to speak in Harlem during his visits to the City, thus making it clear that he had written off the Negro vote.

A more costly oversight of the Republican Party was in not vigorously supporting the candidacy of Judge Samuel R. Pierce for the General Sessions Court. Judge Pierce, after a previous defeat, was reappointed by Governor Rockefeller,

but his own party gave him little financial aid during the campaign. This, plus the reluctance of Negro voters to split their tickets, after having been advised not to do so by Representative Adam C. Powell and others, helped to defeat the young jurist.

A tactical error, which reverberated throughout the country, was the adverse reaction of Vice-President Nixon to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's statement in East Harlem, that there should be a Negro in the Cabinet; that if the Republicans won, consideration might be given to the appointment of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche to some important post.

This statement, when published in the South, caused consternation among Democrats for Nixon, who promptly urged its disavowal. Hopeful of capturing South Carolina and Texas, the Vice-President, when called upon to affirm the Lodge statement, took refuge in the platitude that the best man should be appointed to the Cabinet regardless of race, creed or color. In view of the fact that in the past this meant no Negroes in the Cabinet, the Nixon failure to make a promise further lost him votes among Negroes.

The Kennedy forces, sensing an opportunity to make political hay, accused Lodge of racism in reverse. To further cloud the issue, Representative Charles Diggs of Michigan, pointed out that it was Ambassador Lodge's son who succeeded the late J. Ernest Wilkins, a revered churchman and civic leader, in the post of Assistant Secretary of Labor, and implied that Wilkins was forced to resign to make way for Lodge. Although the widow of Wilkins subsequently denied this; nevertheless, the effect of this episode was harmful to the Republicans.

REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Contrasted with the high caliber of outstanding Negro leaders lined up behind the Kennedy-Johnson ticket, the Republicans found it difficult to come up with an equal number of outstanding personalities. There were observations that even the "pros," such as Val Washington, found it difficult to get through to the Party's high command.

With the exception of Jackie Robinson, who took a leave-of-absence from his post as vice-president of Chock Full O'Nuts, thus incurring the displeasure of the Democratically partisan New York *Post,* which immediately dropped his column, there were few Negroes around openly supporting the Republicans. Most effective were the efforts of E. Frederick Morrow, White House aide, Chicago Attorney Jewel Stratford Rogers, civil rights advisor to Henry Cabot Lodge, and Dr. Helen Edmonds of North Carolina, who appeared on several TV programs and spoke in several cities. There were a few leaders on the state and municipal levels who also campaigned.

For a while Jackie Robinson's efforts were proving effective. His statements in Virginia and North Carolina to the effect that the famous Kennedy breakfast with Governor Patterson of Alabama made him unworthy of Negro support were widely used throughout the South by Democrats for Nixon, thus hoping to sway Negro votes. After the

incident of the arrest of Dr. Martin Luther King, however, Robinson's efforts were less availing.

THE KING INCIDENT

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King was arrested along with 35 student demonstrators after engaging in "sit-down protests" in Rich's Department Store in Atlanta on October 19. Dr. King elected to remain in jail, refusing to be bailed. On October 21 and 22, conferences were held with Atlanta's Mayor William Hartsfield, who agreed to use his influence with the merchants to have the charges against the students and Dr. King dropped and their release effected immediately. The students agreed to a 30-day truce while the mayor worked to effect an end to discrimination at downtown lunch counters.

The charges were subsequently dropped, but officials of De Kalb County intervened to prevent the release of Dr. King. Judge Oscar Mitchell of the De Kalb County Court issued an order directing Dr. King to show cause why as a result of participation in the sit-ins, a suspened sentence imposed for a minor traffic violation (failure to obtain a Georgia drivers license) should not be revoked. Dr. King had previously pleaded guilty and was fined $25 and placed on probation for a year. On Tuesday, October 25, Judge Mitchell revoked the suspended sentence, refused bail, and ordered the Montgomery-bus-boycott leader to serve four months in prison.

Present in the courtroom was the NAACP's executive secretary, Roy Wilkins, and a host of other Negro leaders from Atlanta schools and colleges. Tension in the crowded courtroom was so great that Dr. Samuel W. Williams, president of the Atlanta NAACP branch was arrested for getting too close to a white spectator.

Before King's attorney, D. L. Hollowell of Atlanta could be heard on an appeal for his release on bond the next day, the De Kalb County Sheriff, Robert Broome, spirited the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's president to Reidsville State Prison at 4 A.M. Wednesday morning.

The entire world was aghast at this shameful evidence of Georgian injustice. Even the Atlanta *Constitution* declared that the action by the De Kalb County authorities had morally damaged the community. And Governor Orval E. Faubus, after a visit from L. C. Bates, told the NAACP field secretary that he would wire Governor Ernest Vandiver of Georgia, asking King's release.

NAACP branches and state conferences wired the governor of Georgia. Newspapers, organizations, and individuals spoke out against the King arrest. Both presidential candidates were importuned by citizens all over the nation to take action in protest against this injustice.

Republican leaders sought out Nixon, but got "no comment" from his aides. Contrasted with this inaction on the part of the Republican nominee, the Kennedys went into action. Robert Kennedy, the Senator's brother, called Judge Mitchell, while Senator Kennedy called Mrs. King. This act of humanity was not lost on the Negro voters.

Mrs. King was quoted widely in the Negro press, reporting Kennedy:

"This must be pretty hard on you, and I want to let you both know that I'm thinking about you and will do all I can to help." King was released from Reidiville prison after Judge Mitchell set bond of $2,000 on Wednesday.

PRESIDENT PIQUED

The judge denied that he had been influenced by the Kennedy call, but the action of the Kennedys was in such contrast to Nixon's that many Negroes publicly admitted that this deed helped them make up their minds in favor of the Democratic candidate. Ministers, such as Dr. King's father, openly stated that though they had been averse to voting for a Catholic, the humane Kennedy action now warranted their support.

The significance of Nixon's failure to make the telephone calls in the King case were commented upon by President Eisenhower to visitors on December 13 (*N. Y. Times,* December 14). The President was piqued because, apparently, from his viewpoint, Negro voters had failed to appreciate his repeated demands on Congress for civil-rights legislation, and that despite these efforts few Negroes shifted their votes to the Republicans.

Mr. Eisenhower neglected to mention that his own failure to issue a statement prepared by the Justice Department was possibly the difference between defeat and victory.

According to a *New York Times* report (December 14), the following statement had been drafted for Eisenhower:

It seems to me fundamentally unjust that a man who has peacefully attempted to establish his right to equal treatment, free from racial discrimination, should be imprisoned on an unrelated charge, in itself, insignificant. Accordingly, I have asked the Attorney General to take all proper steps to join with Dr. Martin Luther King in an approprate application for his release.

Commenting on Nixon's failure to act, Clarence Mitchell, director NAACP Washington bureau, wrote in his *Afro-American* column:

The Nixon camp, perhaps mindful of an upcoming visit to South Carolina, got lost in a sand trap of silence and inaction. In that moment of indignation the memory of past civil-rights activity by the Administration became blurred by the proper and righteous anger that many people felt on hearing of the King arrest.

If it had not occurred so close to election day, it is possible that Republicans could have offset this Kennedy advantage by, let us say, starting a long overdue voting suit in Mississippi no doubt, what he had done lately was just enough to shift the votes necessary to give him the rich prizes of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and other northern states.

Another mistake made by Nixon was his visit to South Carolina late in the campaign and having himself photographed with former Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes, one of the South's leading segregationists. During this visit to South Carolina, Attorney General William P. Rogers remained out of sight in order not to antagonize anti-civil rights Nixon supporters. The Byrnes support and endorsement was the kiss of death for Nixon among Negro voters in South Carolina, many of whom up until that time were considering voting for the Vice-President.

WHAT NEGROES EXPECT

The Kennedy victory carries with it certain responsibilities in terms of meeting the aspirations of a bloc of voters which supported him so solidly. At the beginning of the 87th Congress, Negro voters will be expecting his support of the Party's platform promise to change Senate Rule 22 on filibusters in order to limit the endless talk which always prevents passage of strong civil-rights legislation. The Democratic Platform promises:

In order that the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals, we urge that action be taken at the beginning of the 87th Congress to improve congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either House.

Already such Democratic Party spokesmen as Senator Mike Mansfield, expected to become majority leader of the Senate, are indicating that no effort will be made at the opening of Congress to amend these rules in order not to antagonize the Southerners who can, in cooperation with Northern Republicans, thwart passage of the new President's economic program. Mansfield called upon the liberals, led by Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, to forgo attacks on the filibuster rule in order not to stymie Kennedy's legislative program.

Failure of the Administration to press vigorously for a rules change will go a long way toward dissillusioning those voters who supported the Democrats. It will also lend credence to statements made by some who opposed the President-elect, such as Jackie Robinson, who said in a speech in Montgomery, Alabama, December 11, that Kennedy is "a man who in the past has done absolutely nothing for the Negroes in this country."

Negro voters are also hoping that qualified Negroes will be appointed to high governmental posts, including the United States Supreme Court and the Cabinet. They will expect the new President to speak out on school desegregation issues, such as the problems in New Orleans growing out of the November 14 court order. Kennedy's failure to comment, in response to a request from a Louisiana legislative committee, was disappointing to many who voted for him. On the other hand, the explanation that it was properly the duty of President Eisenhower to comment, found many in agreement and expressing the expectation that when Kennedy takes office, there will be stronger comments from the White House on racial matters.

FUTURE OF REPUBLICANS

The Republican Party now stands in the same position with Negro voters as the Democrats did prior to 1932. It was not until 1940 that the Negro voters turned toward the Democrats and with that party they have remained ever since, largely because the Democrats have promised and delivered *more* than the Republicans. The Democrats have built up young Negro leaders in the party and have, in the North, elected them to public office.

The Republicans, on the other hand, fail to improve their position with Negro voters when the Dixicrat-

Republican coalition operates to defeat liberal and civil-rights legislation. If this coalition helps defeat civil-rights measures in the 87th Congress, then Republican hopes for regaining Negro votes in 1962 and 1964 are almost hopeless.

If Mr. Nixon or Mr. Rockefeller are to run, and win in 1964, some of the steps which must be taken to improve their position among colored voters include:

- The recruitment of an outstanding staff of younger Negroes to work at the precinct, ward, state and national levels;
- The infusion of new blood into the party machinery at the top;
- Republican congressional candidates must get closer to their Negro constituents. One congressman with a good voting record was almost not re-elected because of his failure to get acquainted with Negroes moving into his district.
- The Party must establish a positive civil-rights record and keep improving it.

P. L. Prattis of the Pittsburgh *Courier* offers this advice to the GOP:

If the Republican leaders of industry ever got it over to Negroes that they were concerned about Negroes getting a fair shake in employment, the hold of the Democrats on Negro voters would be weakened. Until then the Negro is going to vote for the party which butters his bread.

To this most Negro voters would probably say, "Amen."

Mrs. Alyce Hart, chairman entertainment committee Greenwich, Conn., branch gives Mrs. Lillian Morse (2nd from L), branch president, second $500 fighting-fund - for - freedom check. All members of entertainment committee not shown here.

■ **A sketch of the four little girls involved in the New Orleans integration fight**

Second Battle of New Orleans

By Clarence A. Laws

THE current school crisis in Louisiana is frequently referred to by representatives of the press as "The Battle of New Orleans." If anything, it should be called the "Second Battle of New Orleans."

In the first battle of New Orleans, fought on January 8, 1815, 430 Negro soldiers fought alongside General Andrew Jackson. These freemen-of-color, as they were called, had purchased their own military uniforms and equipment and had volunteered to fight in defense of their country. For their conspicuous conduct in this historic battle, they were specifically cited by General Jackson and their deeds brought to the attention of President James Madison.

In the second battle of New Orleans, so called, the city which praised Negroes after the first battle more than 145 years ago, now stands in shame before the nation and the world as efforts are being made to deny four loveable little girls their Constitutional rights. When these six-year-old children entered formerly all-white William Frantz and McDonogh 19 elementary schools on November 14, 1960, they represented a token victory for Negroes, who had been waging a legal battle against segregated schools for eight years, two months, and ten days. The suit had been filed September 4, 1952.

Because of the intimidation and violence, the names of all but one pupil and their parents have been kept secret. That pupil is Ruby Nell Bridges, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Abon Bridges. Ruby is the smallest of all the children and the only Negro pupil at the Frantz school. She has related to her mother on numerous occasions how much she likes her school and her teacher. She likes to read and to draw. As a matter of fact Ruby had completed her first reader by the end of the first two weeks of school and had been given a second book titled *New Basic Reader*.

CLARENCE A. LAWS is an NAACP field secretary who has been in the midst of the New Orleans integration fight from the beginning.

UPI Photo

NEW ORLEANS—*An unidentified Roman Catholic priest is jeered by two woman as he walks toward Frantz elementary school. The priest, who was just an observer, was shoved and cursed when he accompanied Methodist minister Andrew Foreman and his daughter Pamela Lynn from Frantz school.*

On one of the occasions that the writer talked with this little girl, she was excited about her drawing. When asked what she liked to draw, she said "I like to draw trees and clowns best." Ruby has two sisters and two brothers, all younger than she. Ruby's progress in school is typical of all the children according to the other parents.

The parents of T . . ., for instance, say they are "delightfully surprised" at the progress their little girl is making. She was in kindergarten last year and did not indicate that she would be doing so splendidly in reading and drawing. They attribute the progress to the fact that the teacher is able to give more than the usual amount of personal attention to T . . .

T . . . has two loves—a brown-and-white spotted dog, which she named Mike and a three-year-old tattered bunny doll which she calls "Mr. Bingo." She was given the 18-month-old dog when it was merely a pup.

The other two girls are also reported to be doing well in school. Like T . . ., G . . . is an only child. She is lots of company to her mother while her father, a federal employee,

is at work. G . . . was especially proud of her new blue umbrella which someone had just sent to her as a gift.

L . . ., the fourth and last pupil, has a two-year-old sister with whom she likes to "baby sit." Her parents talk freely about L's . . . progress in school but they are happiest about the fact that she has not shown any emotional ill effects from the demonstrations of segregationists at the integrated school.

The four little girls were selected for the integrated schools under the rigid pupil-placement law of the state of Louisiana. They were selected on the basis of their readiness, aptitude, and fifteen other test points provided under that law.

After observing the rigid tests to which the Negro children were subjected when attempting to transfer to an integrated school, a white woman exclaimed: "I am glad that all white children do not have to take these tests to get into a school. If they did, I fear many would never make it."

These little girls, fortunately, seem completely oblivious to the storm which their presence has set in motion. This cannot be said of the parents who, in two cases in particular, have been the object of harassment, threats, and intimidation. The father of one of the children lost his job as a service station attendant the first week of school integration. The New Orleans branch of the NAACP not only came to his rescue, but assisted him in locating employment at a Negro owned and operated service station. Religious, labor, professional, and social groups also contributed to this man's welfare during his brief unemployment.

Mrs. B . . ., like the other three mothers, has been heartened by the flow of warm letters and telegrams which she has received from all over the country. Many of these letters are from white mothers who want to assure the Negro mothers that not all white people harbor ill will against Negroes.

To the mothers of the little girls, a mother from Santa Rosa, California, wrote:

Tomorrow morning as these brave little girls start again to school their sisters out here in California will be cheering them on and praying for their hearts to be strong and their minds to be opened to the education ready for them within the school. We hope this will help, if only a little, to erase the impressions they may receive on their way.

To you, the Mother of a lovely little girl, I want to thank you for your demonstration of true courage in letting her go to school. May you continue to find the strength you need. Our hearts are completely with you.

To the little girls themselves the same mother wrote:

This is a message from this beautiful land of ours near San Francisco, California.

We hear that you are having some very unhappy times on your way to school—that some of the big people in your city don't remember the words of Jesus, 'Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.'

We are sorry to hear that they have forgotten what this means and have become sick in their hearts. I'm writing to tell you that there are many mothers in America besides your own who love you very much. There are also many little girls, like my daughters Laurie and Mary (who are about

Wide World

NEW ORLEANS SCHOOL INTEGRATED—*An unidentified Negro girl, escorted by two U. S. Marshals, enters McDonogh #16 public school in New Orleans, in defiance of Louisiana legislature, on federal court order.*

your age) who would love to know you. Each morning we think of you in a very special way and join our prayers with those of your own mother when she kisses you good-bye.

Someday there will be happier days and everyone will be thankful to you for you have helped to bring them. It is hard to understand, I know, and if you can't just remember this: Know always, little American girl, that we love you. Learn to feel it and be strong.

Besides these letters there came cards from Cambridge, Mass., and New York, bearing more than 2,000 signatures. Of course, there have been gifts, too.

An organization known as the New Orleans Educational and Welfare Foundation has been set up to receive and convey to the four little girls and their parents correspondence, funds, and other items. The organization is headed by A. J. Chapital, president of the New Orleans NAACP, 1821 Orleans Avenue, New Orleans 16, Louisiana.

None of the parents of the four little girls had wanted or expected the public attention which the school integration controversy has forced upon them. However, now that they have become involved they all say that there is no turning back.

In talking with these courageous parents, one hears such expressions as: There is no victory without labor. . . . In our home the children are taught that all persons are equal. . . . We are determined that our child will remain in school. . . . We are all American Citizens. . . . We believe that we have the best government and that government will protect us all.

With sentiments like these, backed by a small but growing number of courageous white parents who are braving threats, insults, and even attacks to send their children to the school of their choice, we believe that the second battle of New Orleans soon will be resolved in favor of the American dream of justice and equality and that our Nation will be stronger because of this.

In closing, this writer would like to give his reasons for the school strife in New Orleans. First, there is the indifference of responsible white citizens of the New Orleans community to the Constitutional rights of Negroes. Other factors are the open defiance of federal court orders by state and local politicians; the working-up of racial hate and strife by the segregationists; failure of the New Orleans Parish School Board to take steps to prepare the schools and the community for peaceful integration; and a lack of communication between the Negro and the white citizens of the community.

SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGNERS — *These campaigners of Knoxville, Tenn., conducted a successful membership campaign during 1960 under the leadership of Mrs. B. H. Netherland. The branch enrolled more than 1,400 members. Those in top picture are not named, but bottom they are (front, from L) R. I. Alexander treasurer; Rev. N. L. Linsay, president; Mesdames Willie Miles, Wallace Bailey, Bettie Smith, Ruth Ross, captains; Mae Usher, program dierctor. Rear: Mrs. Lillian Inman, captain; George Kirley, division captain #1; Mrs. B. H. Netherland, Ralph Bailey; Mesdames J. I. Alexander and Ruby Card, and Father Jones.*

Wert S. Hooper

FREEDOM FUND RALLY—*Nancy Hack, member of the Darby, Pa., area youth council, pins corsage on Mrs. J. M. Tinsley of Richmond, Va., guest speaker at the rally. Others in the picture (from L) are Mrs. Samuel G. Smith, branch educational committee; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, NAACP national board member; and Gladys J. Roye, branch president.*

JUST PUBLISHED — POSTHUMOUSLY

THE LAST BOOK BY RENÉ MARAN

More than any other man, René Maran, the only Negro Goncourt Prize winner (1921), with his novel *Batouala,* was responsible for making the French aware of the endless abuses and atrocities which were a part of French colonialism. Five of his novels, in addition to *Batouala,* have an African setting. He also wrote several volumes of poetry, tales, essays, and biography.

In *Bertrand Du Guesclin* he offers a brilliant interpretation of the life of Bertrand Du Guesclin, Comte de Longueville (ca. 1320-1380), that "little brown-skinned, black-haired sprout of a man," a constable of France, and the greatest French soldier of his period.

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Wert S. Hopper

SONS OF SHARON LODGE #142, *Free and Accepted Masons, PHA, Darby Township, Pa., present their check for $100 initial NAACP life payment to Alva Gault, life membership chairman of the Darby Area branch. Pictured, from L, are Nathaniel Kimbrough, Amos Whitehead, Alva Gault, Thomas Handy, president Sons of Sharon Square Club; Emory Whitehead, and Seewell Crooper.* BOTTOM: *The Darby Area branch opened its 1960 membership drive with a garden party given at the residence of Mrs. Georgianna Conyers. Some of the paintings and sculpture which were on display at the party.*

SEVENTY-FIVE MEMBERS *of the Claflin NAACP youth chapter, Orangeburg, S. C., march around Confederate Memorial Square in downtown Orangeburg. The march, which took place during the national elections last November were in protest against the disfranchisement of millions of Negroes in the South. The students sang "John Brown's Body," various patriotic songs, and Negro spirituals.*

REV. I. S. COLE *receives an NAACP life membership plaque for his congregation, the Second Baptist Church of Atlantic City, N. J., from Rev. E. J. Odom, Jr. (center), NAACP church secretary. Also pictured (from L) are Robert Napper, Jersey Smith and Mrs. I. S. Cole.* BOTTOM: *The New York AME Ministers' Association became a fully-paid NAACP life member last fall. From left they are the Revs. R. A. Hildbrand, G. C. Crumpley, Edward Odom, Jr., NAACP church secretary; J. L. Joiner, H. R. Hughes, A. A. Davis, G. T. Sims, and O. U. Ifill.*

Mrs. Lillian Evana, president of the Greenwich, Conn., Women's Civic Club, receives an NAACP life membership certificate from William Blakely, branch financial secretary. The membership was taken out by the club.

Calvin Banks, NAACP field secretary, presented plaque and a cash gift upon his return to the Association from private industry. At left is Gladys Roye; at right, Mrs. Isabel Strickland.

A group of faithful campaign workers of the Carolina County, Va., branch: John Garnett, John Beverly, Lee Alsop, Louis Jackson, Mrs. Elizabeth Alsop, Elmer Fortune, and Mrs. Lona Jackson.

Looking and Listening . . .

"STRAIGHT TALK"

HARMONIOUS relations between Negroes and whites can hardly be effected until each group candidly declares its true desires and aims, states Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, writing in the December issue of *The Atlantic*.

His article, entitled "A Plea for Straight Talk Between the Races," holds that failure to speak frankly in the past has impeded progress in developing this harmony.

Says Dr. Mays:

Honest communication is built on truth and integrity and upon respect of the one for the other. It is true that, for decades upon decades, Negroes and white people have talked to each other. But it was conversation between a 'superior' and an 'inferior,' a 'man' and a 'boy,' and conversation between 'master' and 'servant.' In this relationship the truth could seldom, if ever, emerge.

For nearly a century the South made itself believe that Negroes and white people were really communicating. So convinced of this were the white Southerners that they almost made the nation believe that they, and only they, knew the mind of the Southern Negro. They were sure that the Negro was satisfied with segregation and with his subordinate role in American life. If only the Communists, the Yankees, and the NAACP would leave the Negro alone, they said, he would live happily forever within the confines of legal segregation. All the Negro wanted was equality within the segregation pattern.

The fallacy in this argument lies in the fact that it was based on falsehood from the beginning. White people got their information from two main sources: one source was their cooks, maids, and chauffeurs. These servants wanted to hold their jobs, and so they told their white employers what they wanted to hear—the Negro is happy with segregation. Most of the white people of the South—and the North, too, for that matter—have never known the cultured and trained Negro. The white South's other source of information was equally deceptive. Many Negro leaders led white Southerners to believe that if the impossible doctrine of separate but equal could be attained—separate schools, but equal; separate jobs, but equal; separate hospitals and recreational facilities, but equal; separate transportation and separate eating establishments, but all equal—Negroes would be satisfied. Many of these Negro leaders courted the favor of the whites either because they were economically dependent upon them or feared that unfortunate economic and physical consequences would follow if they told white people the truth. If what is communicated is false, it can hardly be called communication.

Many Whites, while fully realizing the Negroes' attitude, refused to discuss it openly. Instead, Dr. Mays comments, they chose to remain satisfied with the status quo of a ticklish and perplexing situation.

But today, he goes on to say, the situation has changed. Because of the Supreme Court decision against

school segregation, uprisings of suppressed peoples in other parts of the world, and the Negroes' contacts in war time and through travel, the Negro today enjoys a greater latitude of speech and action than ever before.

This has resulted in his active pursuit of his now openly avowed aim —full equailty. Participation in bus boycotts and sit-in strikes leads Dr. Mays to believe that a less stringent approach toward segregation by the White has set the scene for honest communication between the races.

Dr. Mays concludes by refuting the claim that Negro action is hindering, and not helping, race relations. He states, "I have never before felt so much like a free human being in the South as I do today."

"PERSISTENT MYTH"

THE *Civil Rights Bulletin*, (November, 1960) of the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights has this to say about the myth that "property values will go down if Negroes or other minority families move into a white neighborhood":

Factual information to clarify the issue of property values has been available for many years but its absorption seems to be limited. In preparing a study of 'Private Interracial Neighborhoods in Connecticut' the Commission's research staff interviewed 390 white families in neighborhoods having from one to five Negro residents. Sixty percent of the white people interviewed indicated they did not know if property values had changed, thought that they had remained the same, or in a few instances, believed property values had increased.

Elsewhere court decisions and studies served to disprove the contention that property values suffer from neighborhood change. In Ohio the Board of Tax Appeals rejected a request for a reduction in assessed valuation because Negroes had moved into the neighborhood. The Board stated: 'Valuation of property is based on many factors, such as demand for the property involved, its location, its condition, to mention but a few, and, including, perhaps, the economic status of the persons residing in the neighborhood. But in no case is it based upon the race, creed, or color of the neighbors.'

Reports from Chicago, Kansas City and Minneapolis indicate that property values decreased only when speculators bought up properties and failed to maintain them and when the neighborhood was disturbed by those who could expect to profit from panic sales.

Factual data about race and property values has been made available by several church groups, by the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, Labor groups and most recently in a series of six books based on research sponsored by the Fund for the Republic. A summary of the research findings on property values can be found in a pamphlet entitled 'Discrimination in Housing,' authored by Eunice and George Grier, published by the Anti-Defamation League. The following statements from this pamphlet are particularly pertinent: 'What in the light of scientific analysis, really happens to prices when Negroes enter a formerly white neighborhood? The answer is that there is no universal effect. In a majority of cases, according to the most recent and authoritative study, prices rise. In a smaller proportion they remain about the same, In a small minority of cases they go down. There may be some fluctuations in value during the first few weeks or months before a clear trend is established.

'The most important finding of the studies as a whole, however, is that re-

sponsibility for the effect upon prices rests less upon the entering Negroes than upon the whites who lived in the neighborhood when they came. Negroes themselves have no inherent effect on property values.'

A leader of a builders' group in a western city stated, 'It is a generally accepted theory that minority races depreciate property values. There may be no statistics to prove it but it is a theory under which I operate.' Does it seem unreasonable to assume that if such a theory could be proved, those adhering to it would put forth statistical proof? The next time you are confronted with a statement about property values declining, in areas into which minority families have moved, ask for proof. Help relieve our community of a harmful myth.

PANAMANIAN RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

THE *Panama Tribune* (Panama City, October 29, 1960) reports on racial discrimination in local banks and government offices.

"Writing on the question 'Does Racial Discrimination Exist in Panama?' a columnist of a morning tabloid has scored the practice of certain government offices in not employing colored workers. He singled out the Savings Bank, 'an organization sustained by the entire community.

"Jorge Prosperi, in his daily column 'Hecho y Verdades in *Critica,* said he had chosen the subject because it was necessary for all Panamanians to become aware of an evil that is slowly growing, but steadily. He cautioned that the consequences could be very grave in a not too distant future."

He goes on:

Prosperi recalled that one of the major causes of resentment of Panamanians in their relations with the United States, lay in the existing discrimination in the Canal Zone due to race and color.

He said that many persons hold to the belief that racial tolerance is absolute in Panama, but added that analyzing the facts based on realities we readily realize that this is not true.

"It is only necessary," he said, "to go to certain public or private offices to be convinced that we are mistaken and that we live in a climate of hypocrisy."

Prosperi mentioned as a glaring example the Caja de Ahorros (Savings Bank) which he described as an institution serving all Panamanians, whether they be Negroes, whites, bronze or yellow.

"We cannot find at the Savings Bank the single face of a man or woman who is beyond the tan color," he contended. . . .

We are not unaware of the fact that there are in Panama thousands of persons of both sexes, fully prepared to exercise certain duties, whose only sin is not being of the 'White' race.

AFRICANS IN MOSCOW

THERE have been reports from time to time that all is not well with African students enrolled in Moscow schools. They are said to often be victims of "violent discrimination" and even personal assault. A *Guardian* reporter (*The Guardian,* November 18, 1960, London) gives this account:

Three African students who have just returned from courses in Moscow say that they and other Africans in Russia have been victims of violent discrimination. They say that African students have been beaten without provocation both by fellow-students and by the police, that Russians sent them

(Continued on page 60)

Ed Bagtwell

TOP TALENT—*Highlight of the NAACP's Fourth Annual Freedom Fund Dinner in New York City, November 27, was a half hour of music with lyrics by the late Oscar Hammerstein, II. Distinguished performers (from L) are Charlotte Holloman, soprano; Leonard dePaur, director; Lois Hunt, soprano; Betty Allen, mezzo-soprano; and Earl Wrightson, baritone.*

MISS HORNE *was cited for the "warmth, charm and dignity with which she has graced the world of contemporary entertainment." She was also recognized for the "steadfastness with which she has seen and fulfilled her obligations in the fight for justice for her fellow human beings." Miss Horne responded: "I shall always cherish this scroll and shall consider it, for my part, as a pledge of my continued wholehearted support in the future." Pictured (from L) are NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins, Miss Horne (holding the scroll), Mrs. Margurite Belafonte, NAACP special projects director; and Arthur B. Spingarn, NAACP president.*

Ed Bagwell

NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins addresses the diners and friends of the NAACP. More than 1,000 NAACP members and friends paid tribute to Lena Horne and Oscar Hammerstein II, in memoriam, at the dinner held in the Hotel Statler-Hilton, New York City, on November 27.

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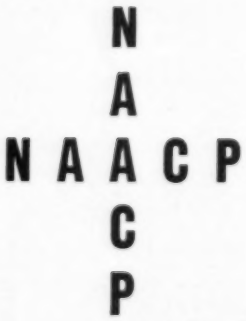

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Editorials

NEW ORLEANS "MARDI GRAS"

THE obscene farce now being played in New Orleans is further proof that Southern Segregationists do not want the provisions of the United States Constitution to apply to Negroes. All the shenanigans about interposition, states' rights, miscegenation, white boycott of the two segregated schools, and the ridiculous special sessions of the Louisiana legislature cannot hide this fact. The issue in New Orleans and Louisiana is whether Louisianians are going to abide by the unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court that racial segregation in American public schools is unconstitutional. It is just that simple!

Actually, the New Orleans' plan is a token desegregation program. It grew out of a desegregation order based on the *Bush v. Orleans Parish school board* suit filed on September 4, 1952. The sluggishness of the program is obvious in the fact that it envisages a grade-a-year desegregation. On top of this there is the Orleans Parish pupil placement plan, provided for in state law. Under this law, any Negro pupil applying for transfer has to meet all seventeen criteria listed by the school board. When the schools opened, there were 137 Negroes who had applied for transfer; but only four little girls had met all the criteria. The fifth qualified Negro girl had decided at the last minute not to transfer.

AFTER eight years of resistance, the city of New Orleans, Mayor Morrison, and the Orleans Parish school board were prepared to accept this token integration. Into the picture marched Governor Jimmy Davis; the state legislature, dominated by up-country politicos; the desegregated-school white boycotters; and the hysterical mobs "slam-banging" in front of the newsreel cameras. Among other aspects of the New Orleans "Mardi Gras" were the state legislature's freezing of school board funds to prevent paying employees in the two integrated schools—William Frantz and McDonogh No. 19—and Miss Elen Steinberg's offer of a $500,000 loan to pay the teachers. But a federal court order released the school money in order to pay the teachers in time for the Christmas holiday, and ordered contempt citations of three Louisiana state officials for having withheld the teachers' salaries.

The segregationists have learned—if they can learn—that they cannot

thwart public-school integration. The federal law is supreme; integration is here to stay. The majority of citizens, even though they may be against integration, much prefer integrated schools to *no schools*. And the federal courts have spoken—you can have only integrated public education.

RICHARD WRIGHT

THE death of Richard Wright in Paris, France, last November was a loss to American letters. Mr. Wright was a tremendous literary figure who had raged against the terrible and the unpleasant in America's treatment of her Negroes. Because his early life was a long and painful experience in, as he puts it, "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow," he always stressed the stark brutality of southern living for the ordinary black man. In consequence, his books, written in a lyrically savage prose, were a protracted outcry against color and race prejudice. And he employed marvelous skill in evoking the brutalizing effects of racial discrimination and the destructive fears it engenders.

Mr. Wright walked into American literature in 1936 with "Big Boy Leaves Home," a short story which was later included in his collection of novelle called *Uncle Tom's Children* (1938). The impact of this book was followed by the bitter *Native Son* (1940) and in 1945 by his irreverently frank autobiography, *Black Boy*. Mr. Wright, of course, wrote many other books, but these three seem his most characteristic performance.

IN the early forties he took up residence in France. He said at the time: "By social definition I am an American Negro and what I'll have to say will deal with Negro life in the U.S.A. . . ." This was the irony and the drama of his expatriation: that he had fled America on the eve of our most spectacular advances, just at the dusk of dawn. And Mr. Wright's books had made a powerful contribution to this change. It seems that the more hopeful the American scene, the greater the bitterness Mr. Wright put into his books. Because he wrote as a *déraciné*, a found himself portraying a racial scene which no longer existed and his books, though jumbled, impressive, and angry, told little of current America. He was the great incorruptible among American writers. He always wrote about what he had known, experienced, and observed.

NEWS ITEM

MEMPHIS, TENN., Dec. 22 (AP)—Federal Judge Marion S. Boyd today refused to stop Haywood County landowners from evicting Negro sharecroppers. The Justice Department, in the first legal test of the 1957 Civil Rights Act that bars threats to and intimidations of voters, contended the evictions were timed for the end of the year after the Negroes had registered to vote.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

TUSKEGEE RULING HAILED

THE Supreme Court ruling in November that a state may not change the boundaries of a city if the effect is to deprive Negroes of the right to vote in city elections was praised by NAACP general counsel, Robert L. Carter.

Mr. Carter, who argued the case for the Negro plaintiffs along with Fred D. Gray of Montgomery, Ala., said:

"I am inclined to regard this as the most significant court decision in the field of civil rights since the public school desegregation decision of May 17, 1954.

"There is no longer any doubt, "Mr. Carter continued, "of the Negro's growing determination to become an important equation in the nation's political structure. It is equally evident that the future of the country's

EXECUTIVE BOARD—*The Jersey City, N. J., branch youth council executive board, 1960. First row, from L: Doris Burrough, Evelyn Brown, Arlene Wade, Gloria Crayton, Joyce Williams, and Charlie Mays. Second row: William Robinson, Jr., Larry Kirkland, Beverly Judge, Claudette Coleman, McLester McKee, Annette Dunbar, and Richard McKee.*

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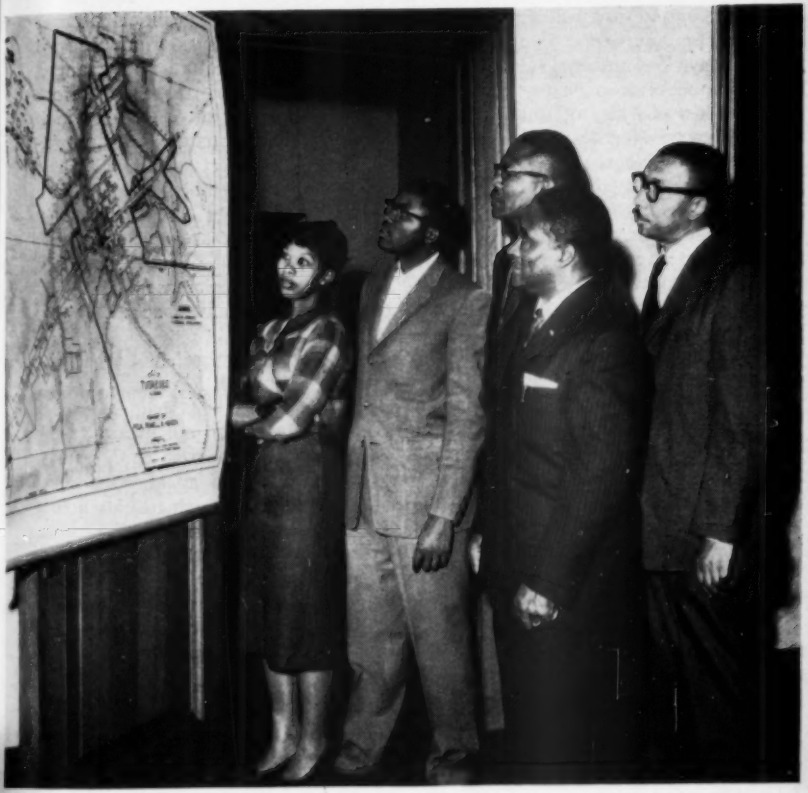

ATTACK TUSKEGEE BOUNDARY LAWS—*Map showing distorted boundary lines of formerly square-shaped city of Tuskegee, Ala., was a source of great curiosity in the U. S. Supreme Court recently. Lawyers, including NAACP's general counsel Robert Carter, asked the high court in an argument that began October 18 to strike down the Alabama law that changed the boundaries so as to exclude most Negroes from the city. Tuskegee once had 400 Negro voters, now only 4. Viewing map (from L) are Peggy Ann Mitchell, Atty. Fred D. Gray, William P. Mitchell, executive secretary of the Tuskegee Civic Association, Attys. Arthur D. Shores, and Robert Carter. The Court ruled in November that a state may not change the boundaries of a city if the effect is to deprive Negroes of the right to vote in city elections.*

movement toward full equality will be determined in the political arena."

The controversy in the case, the decision of which was announced on Monday, November 14, arose over a 1957 Alabama statute that changed the boundaries of Tuskegee, home of famed Tuskegee Institute. Before 1957 it was a city of four sides, with a total population of 6,707, of which 5,397 were Negroes, and 1,310 were white. Its 1,000 qualified electors included 400 Negroes.

As redefined, the city had 28 sides giving the semblance of a "sea dragon." Some 400 Negroes were deprived of the right to participate in local elections. Within the city limits there remained 600 white and only five Negro voters.

Negro citizens of Tuskegee were represented in their case by Messrs. Carter and Gray, and Philip Elman of the Justice Department appeared as a friend of the court.

The Supreme Court unanimously reversed the dismissal of the suit by lower courts and sent the case back for trial.

In its ruling, the high court asserted that unless Alabama officials could refute the charges that the statute effectively fenced out Negro voters from the city, the legislation must be held unconstitutional.

Such legislation, Justice Felix Frankfurter concluded in the opinion he wrote for the court, violates the Fifteenth Amendment which forbids denial of the vote because of race or color.

Justice Frankfurter said to rule otherwise "would sanction the achievement by a state of any impairment of voting rights whatever so long as it was cloaked in the garb of the realignment of political subdivisions."

CASE DISMISSED

A THREE-JUDGE circuit court has dismissed a case against a member of the legal staff of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches charged on three counts of unprofessional conduct.

The significance of the ruling on November 14, according to NAACP general counsel, Robert Carter, is that it is now clear that "the Association is prepared to go to the limit of its resources to protect and defend" lawyers "whose only crimes have been" their assistance to the NAACP in efforts to remove race barriers.

Charges of unprofessional conduct were brought against Samuel W. Tucker, of Emporia, by the Virginia state bar and stemmed from his admitted participation in three NAACP cases dating back to 1949.

Prominent NAACP officials, including secretary Roy Wilkins and W. Lester Banks, executive secretary of the Virginia State NAACP, were on hand at the hearing on November 14 to testify in defense of Mr. Tucker; also Spottswood W. Robinson III, law dean at Howard University; and Dr. Roscoe Lewis, professor of sociology at Hampton Institute.

However, the jam-packed court was never formally convened.

At the outset NAACP lawyers, including Oliver W. Hill, Richmond; William R. Ming, Chicago; and Mr. Carter, together with Harold Townsend, the state bar's counsel, were called in to consult with the judges in their chambers.

Following a series of brief conferences with legal representatives extending over several hours, the court announced its ruling that Mr. Tucker "be non-suited without prejudice."

It meant the case was dismissed without a decision. The dismissal came after NAACP attorneys urged the circuit court to restrain the Commonwealth from going to trial on some charges appearing in the bill of particulars for the reason that they were not in the original charges filed.

No further proceedings can be taken against Mr. Tucker without new proceedings being initiated before the Virginia State Bar Committee.

As the informal hearing ended, the more than 200 Negro spectators flowed out of the 100-year-old Greensville County Courthouse onto the lawn to hear comment on the outcome of the case. During the course of this impromptu meeting, which occurred near the statue of a Confederate soldier, some white persons set off a firecracker.

But the meeting continued as if no sound had been heard.

The Association's general counsel, Robert L. Carter, asserted: "The significance of this proceeding and its outcome is not that the effort to discipline lawyers from taking part in NAACP litigation is over, but that it is now clear to all that the Association is prepared to go to the limit of its resources to protect and defend lawyers whose only crimes have been that they have participated in the successful litigation effort of the NAACP to remove barriers of race and color insofar as they affect the Constitutional rights and rights of fairness in the administration of justice in respect to Negro citizens."

The NAACP cases in which Mr. Tucker was charged with unprofessional conduct fell into the category described by Mr. Carter. One case involved a Jodie Bailey who was charged with killing a white man. Mr. Tucker defended him through a long series of legal procedures which took some three years. In the second case, Mr. Tucker, at the request of the parents, assisted in the prosecution of a white man who was charged with the rape of a young Negro girl. In the third case Mr. Tucker represented a Negro sharecropper who was charged with felonious assault on his white landlord.

In all these cases the NAACP rendered assistance and Mr. Tucker acted at the behest of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP branches or a local branch of the NAACP. The state charged that his conduct in these cases amounted to unprofessional conduct warranting disbarment.

When the proceedings were instituted, the National Board of the NAACP passed a resolution pledging all of its resources to defend Mr. Tucker and the right of other lawyers to use their professional talents to advance the cause of social justice.

APPEAL CONVICTION

THE contempt conviction in Mississippi of an NAACP field secretary for his comment on the court trial of a Negro student is a "further demonstration of the double standard maintained by the Deep South for its white and colored citizens," declared Roy Wilkins.

The Association will appeal the conviction of its Mississippi official, Medgar W. Evers, to "the highest court, if necessary, to see justice done," Mr. Wilkins stated.

Evers was sentenced December 2 to 30 days in jail and fined $100 for criticizing the decision in the Forest County Circuit Court at Hattiesburg in the trial of a student, Clyde Kennard, who was charged with burglary. Prior to his conviction Kennard had attempted to enroll at Mississippi Southern College.

Mr. Evers' comments on the conduct of Mr. Kennard's trial "were an exercise of free speech within the permissible limits of such comments," Mr. Wilkins observed.

"The nation and the world will not miss the supreme irony of this action in a state and region which for six years has recognized no restraints, even of common decency, in its violent assaults on the motives and integrity of the Supreme Court of the United States," Mr. Wilkins declared.

"Mississippi has again made it plain that a white man can vilify the courts of the land with complete impunity, but a colored man may not enjoy the constitutional right to speak freely if what he says is distasteful to the white majority."

CAMDEN HAS BANNER DRIVE

THE NAACP branch in Camden, N. J., ended with an outstanding membership drive in November when Dr. U. S. Wiggins, president, turned over $5,000 cash and 2,000 NAACP memberships to executive secretary Roy Wilkins.

Dr. Wiggins said the month-long drive was under the direction of Dr. Granville Lewis and that $1,500 of the total represented the branch's contribution to the Association's fighting fund for freedom.

Dr. Wiggins also reported an additional twenty-three life-membership subscribers.

Secretary Wilkins congratulated Dr. Wiggins, a member of the NAACP national board, and the Camden branch on "an exceptional campaign in the long line of successful campaigns held by the branch."

What the Branches Are Doing

Connecticut: The GREENWICH branch contributed two $500 checks to the Association fighting-fund-for-freedom during 1960. The branch also secured an NAACP life membership from the Connecticut Women's Civic Club, Mrs. Lillian Evans, president.

Michigan: The DETROIT branch voted on its 1961-62 slate of officers in December. Eugene Wilson, William T. Patrick, Jr., Kenneth Watson, Melvin Byrd, Lonnie Saunders, John Brown, and Dorothy Gibson were members of the branch nominating committee.

New York: The SPRING VALLEY branch recently sponsored a successful mass meeting on "Fact and Fiction About the Congo." George Houser of the American Committee on Africa, V. L. Make of the Pan-African Conference, and Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress were among the discussants.

The village of Spring Valley, in response to a branch request, has named a committee to conduct a housing survey to find out the amount of sub-standard housing there is in the community. Several branch members are on this committee.

Louisiana: The Grand Consistory of Louisiana, representing the subordinate lodges under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, and Martha Grand Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, have donated $1,404 to the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., of the NAACP.

Checks for this amount were presented in November to Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel of LDEF, by Arthur J. Chapital, Sr., commander-in-chief of the Consistory, and by Mrs. Lillian A. Loeb, grand worthy matron of Martha Grand Chapter.

"We know that the NAACP's cause is just," Mr. Chapital said, "and we are making our contribution at this time with the hope that freedom-loving people everywhere will be inspired to support this worthy organization in its efforts to implement the highest degree of democracy throughout the United States."

New Jersey: The third annual Community Relations Conference for southern New Jersey was held at the State College, Glassboro, on October 22, 1960. This was the first time that NAACP personnel played a large role

Clinton Falconer

HABIT FORMING BASILEUS—*Benjamin F. Jones of Orange, N. J., Basileus of Upsilon Phi chapter, Omega Psi Phi fraternity, is shown presenting a $100 check to Mrs. Sherwood Catlett of the Montclair branch. Others pictured are Brothers Olive Krygar, vice-Basileus, and Overbrook Hospital occupational therapy director; Jesse Gibson, chaplain, and executive secretary of the Union County Urban League.*

in the conference. Clarence Mitchell, director, NAACP Washington Bureau, was principal speaker at the conference.

Among the topics discussed were police-community relations, passive resistance, separation of church-and-state, discrimination in housing in New Jersey, the new Africa, and the southern sit-ins. The panelists included Mrs. Elaine Davidson, Fairlawn, N. J.; Inspector Allen Ballard of the Philadelphia police; Nellie R. Wright, Philadelphia public school system; Marjorie Penney, director Fellowship House, Philadelphia; Calvin D. Banks, NAACP area secretary; and Dr. Roger Gordon, Greenfield Center, University of Pennsylvania.

The NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE of branches met in three action-filled days in Kingston, October 28-30. Thirty-five of New York's fifty-two branches were represented at the conference, which established a record with the attendance of some 200 registered delegates and observers.

Rev. Russell Williams of Syracuse gave the keynote address at the Friday evening mass meeting. Citing the fact that new African nations are

Porter Photos

MONEY FOR CIVIL RIGHTS—*The Grand Consistory of Louisiana, La., representing the subordinate lodges under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, and the Martha Grand Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, presented checks totaling $1,404 to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. Thurgood Marshall (L), director-counsel NLDEF, receives the money from Mrs. Lillian A. Loeb, grand-worthy matron of Martha Grand, and Arthur J. Chapital, Sr., commander-in-chief of the Grand Consistory.*

now occupying the center of the world stage, Rev. Williams called upon the conference not to overlook racial problems existing in New York State. He urged those present not to be satisfied with a $2.00 membership and "feeling sorry for southerners." "If we continue that course of action," he stated, "we will find that those for whom we feel sorry in Atlanta, Montgomery, and other parts of the South might be truly free before those in New York State." He pointed to the fact that New York State was the first state in the nation to enact positive civil rights legislation. However, he stated, New York has allowed many states to take the forefront by passing better legislation.

Regional meetings covering the five regions into which the State Conference is divided for better operation were scheduled for 8:30 Saturday morning, prior to the 9:30 business session, which was addressed by Mayor Edwin F. Radel of Kingston. In welcoming the Conference, Mayor Radel

BORDER STATE CRUSADE—*Mrs. Dupree White (L), president of the Jamaica branch, presents a $1,000 check for current NAACP activities to Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, as Mrs. Rita Marshall, chairman of the fund drive, stands by. The bulk of the Association's school integration work is taking place in border states.*

extended greetings on behalf of the City officials. He felt that Kingston was making progress in the elimination of discrimination and segregation, and he wished the Conference success and growth.

Simultaneous workshops in membership campaigning, branch administration, housing, and public relations followed. The membership workshop was under the leadership of Mrs. Benona Bradford, membership chairman of the Conference. Gloster B. Current, director of branches, conducted a workshop on organizing new branches and establishing effective branch procedure. The public relations workshop was directed by Jesse DeVore, of the public relations staff of the national office; and the housing workshop, under the leadership of Mrs. Carita V. Roane, housing chairman, was assisted by Jack E. Wood, housing secretary of the national office. In each

of these fields, there was discussion and planning of ways and means to improve the effectiveness of the NAACP in the local community.

The Conference closed with a mass meeting which, like all other sessions of the Conference, was held at the Governor Clinton Hotel. The meeting, presided over by Everett Hodge, president of the Kingston branch, had as its main speaker Gloster B. Current, NAACP director of branches, who, among other things, said that the New York City school integration plan of open enrollment should be adopted by boards of education elsewhere in the North. Noting that the New York plan is still "experimental,"

JUNIOR LIFE MEMBER—*Little Monique Foster of Salem, Va., receives her junior NAACP life membership in memory of her grandmother, the late Mrs. Sarah E. Waldron, at one time chairman of the branch membership committee. Others in the picture are Mrs. Britannia Hill (L), branch secretary; and Mrs. Eliza Hill, branch president.*

Mr. Current cited the program, however, as one which permits pupils in schools with heavy minority group enrollment to transfer to authorized schools "where they can be a part of a student body representing a variety of ethnic and religious distribution."

Samuel M. Aduesi-Poku, staff member of the Ghana Delegation to UN, reviewed the growth of freedom in Africa. He stated that one of the problems of the African people is that their own culture becomes new and different when mixed with that of the West. He stated most Africans feel a keen relationship with the American Negro and are saddened by the trials and setbacks in the Negroes' fight for equality and gladdened by their successes.

North Carolina: Atty. Reuben J. Dailey and Elma Dennis, a retired school teacher, were awarded a North Carolina NAACP conference trophy on behalf of the ASHEVILLE branch, which promoted the case, for their successful fight in getting Negro students integrated into two hitherto all-white public schools in Yancey county.

The children of the Burnsville mountain community, which has a very small Negro population, had to travel a distance of eighty miles a day (going and coming) to attend school in Asheville after their school had been condemned and the county had refused to enroll them in the "white school."

Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania STATE CONFERENCE of NAACP branches adopted, last November, the following resolution of censure of the State of Georgia:

"Whereas the State of Georgia has recently committed a deplorable and shameful wrong against a distinguished American clergyman; and

Whereas, the conscience of all decent citizens has been shocked by this travesty and mockery upon justice; and

Whereas we are unwaveringly in support of the efforts of Dr. Martin Luther King and all other persons dedicated to the cause of human rights; therefore

Be it resolved that the Pennsylvania State Conference of NAACP Branches sharply censures the State of Georgia and specifically DeKolb County for its cruel, bestial and despicable conduct toward a courageous member of the clergy whose only act was the furtherance of the search for human dignity."

In furtherance of the efforts of the NAACP to secure relief for Dr. King, Henry R. Smith, Jr., president, directed the following telegram to Governor David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania:

"The Pennsylvania State Conference of Branches of the NAACP urges that you use your good offices to counsel with Governor Ernest Vandiver of Georgia whose state has made a mockery of American justice by exacting a severe penalty of Dr. Martin Luther King for a minor and inconsequential traffic violation."

The DAUPHIN COUNTY branch presented "A Great Variety Show and Outstanding Award Night" at the Foose School building on August 16, 1960.

The branch has awarded 23 gold pins, 56 merit certificates, and 9 trophies for outstanding services. Trophy recipients, first ever, were Edith Coles, Rev. C. L. Henderson, Mrs. Evelyn Dilliard, Delmonte Hughes, Thomas Mosley, Dr. George A. Jones, Anderson Robinson, Samuel Waters, and Kaye Stewart.

Wisconsin: The STATE CONFERENCE OF NAACP branches held it eighth fall meeting October 15-16 in Racine.

STILL IN THE FIGHT—*Edward Gaines (second from R), 88-year-old freedom fighter, receives congratulations from Donald T. Moss, leader of "sit-ins" at Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., as Dr. Harry J. Greene (L), NAACP national board member, Clarence Dockens, treasurer Philadelphia branch; and Mrs. Isabel Hoggard, West Philadelphia area leader, look on. Mr. Gaines, who has been an NAACP member since 1914, recently took out a life membership.*

Rev. Edward J. Odom, Jr., was guest speaker at Sunday's mass meeting. His inspiring address will be long remembered by the delegation. Rev. Odom also spoke at a special dinner for ministers.

Rev. Oliver Gibson of Beloit, Wisconsin, formerly of Little Rock, Arkansas, gave a most interesting talk on Little Rock during our Saturday session.

Workshops were on "Membership and Fund Raising" and "The Contemplated Legislation On Private Housing In Wisconsin." This is the first hearing on this bill which will come before the legislature in January, 1961. A meeting is planned to iron out the loop holes.

The proposed housing anti-discrimination bill provides that any person engaged in the business of selling, leasing or renting private housing, or of granting mortgage loans, who discriminates because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry may be fined up to $200 or sent to prison for six months or both.

The proposed bill would not cover an individual home owner who wished to sell his home privately or the individual who wished to rent his apartments himself. But it would prohibit his using a real estate agent to carry out a discriminatory act.

Acts which would be prohibited for reasons of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry include:

(1) Refusing to sell, lease or rent any real property such as a house or apartment to a purchaser or tenant;

(2) Expelling a tenant from any real property;

(3) Making any distinction or restriction against a purchaser or a tenant in price, terms or conditions;

(4) Publishing any communication which indicates any preference or limitation to a purchaser or tenant;

(5) Listing any real property for sale, rental or lease with an understanding that a purchaser or tenant may be discriminated against because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry;

(6) Discriminating in the granting of a mortgage loan.

The forty-second anniversary banquet of the JERSEY CITY branch was held at The Hotel Plaza on December 4. Louis Lomax, author and journalist, was the guest speaker.

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College and School News

MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE, through the efforts of William Pace, public relations director, has been awarded a grant of $2,000 by the Sperry and Hutchinson Company (S & H Green Stamps) for the purpose of sponsoring lectureships in the field of economics. Morris Brown is one of three colleges in the southeast to receive such a grant.

■

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE alumni in California are just $10,000 short of raising $100,000 in pledges toward Meharry's $20,000,000 development drive, according to Noble F. Payton, director of development.

Meharry's board of trustees recently announced the promotions of five faculty members. Dr. R. S. Anderson, from associate professor to professor and head of the department of internal medicine; Dr. Theodore C. Green, professor and head of the department of anatomy; Dr. Ludwald Perry, to be assistant professor of medicine; Dr. Philip Nicholas, to be associate professor of obstetrics-gynecology; and Dr. Ralph Cazort, to be professor and head of the department of pharmacology.

■

TALLADEGA COLLEGE received a special gift of $35,000, last summer, from the American Missionary Association Division of the Congregational Christian Board of Home Missions to supplement the Cochran legacy of $31,517.95 received earlier.

■

J. K. Haynes, executive secretary of the Louisiana Education Association, was principal speaker at the BISHOP COLLEGE alumni breakfast held in the Rockefeller Dining Hall on November 12.

■

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fessor of education and chairman of the division of education at TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, was awarded an Ed D. degree by Cornell University last fall. While studying at Cornell, she was awarded scholarships by the Southern Fellowship Fund and one full-summer research scholarship by Cornell.

Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel has been appointed eighth president of Tougaloo to succeed Dr. Samuel C. Kincheloe, who has joined the Atlanta University system as head of the department of church and society.

■

A backstage visit to the almost completed Hall of the Biology of Man, to the long closed Hall of North American Birds, to the Department of Exhibition and to a typical research laboratory were included in the 1960 behind- the-scenes tour of THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY on December 3.

An unusual new instrument, designed to teach and demonstrate astronomical motions and principles in the classroom or the space research laboratory, has been acquired by the American Museum-Hayden Planetariaum. The device, which resembles a giant television set eight feet high, is the first of its kind ever developed. It will be used in the Planetarium's program of adult courses in astronomy, navigation, and space sciences and will also appear as a demonstration-display from time to time in the Planetarium's exhibit halls.

■

The fifth annual Major General Julius Ochs Adler Scholarship was

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awarded in November by the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM to A. Raymond Cochran of Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Cochran served for two years with a U. S. Army intelligence and formerly held a part-time job in the classified department at *The New York Times*.

Five Congolese students are currently enrolled in Columbia University's American Center.

■

President Eisenhower and Senator John F. Kennedy headed a long list of leaders in the field of government, business, labor, education, and religion who paid tribute to Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president-emeritus of HOWARD UNIVERSITY, at a testimonial dinner in his honor at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C. Dr. Johnson retired last June after thirty-four years as head of Howard.

Author and lecturer Max Lerner delivered the annual Sidney Hillman lectures at Howard, November 29-30 and December 2. He is the seventh lecturer in the series at Howard.

■

Annual founder's day exercises were held at SHAW UNIVERSITY on November 18. Tribute was paid to the late Dr. Henry Martin Tupper, honorably discharged Union Army veteran, who founded Shaw in 1865.

Three of Shaw's illustrious graduates received citations for meritorious services, during the exercises: Mrs. Esther H. Sherard, director of

medical record department, Homer C. Phillips Hospital, St. Louis, Missouri; Dr. D. W. Turner physician, Gary, Indiana; and Dr. James Wilkerson, physician, St. Louis, Missouri.

Annual Baptist Series were held at Shaw, November 6-7. Theme of the series was "The Three Major Baptist Distinctives," which are defined as the word of God (primarily the New Testament) as the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice; the necessary fact of individual and personal responsibility to God; and a distinctive attitude concerning the church. Dr. Wendell R. Grigg, secretary, department of interracial cooperation, Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, was the speaker.

New York University has conferred the Ph. D. degree in history upon Frank H. White, associate professor of history at Shaw. Ten Shaw students, eight seniors and two juniors, have been elected to the 1960-61-edition of "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges.

■

Two recent concert events at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY were appearances of the National Opera Company (formerly Grass Roots Opera on November 4 and the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra (Henry Sopkin, conductor) on November 22.

■

Dr. F. N. Gatlin represented VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE at the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the National Association of Schools of Music, Chicago, Illinois, November 25-26. VSC has been a member of NASM since 1954.

James Clark, Captain Roscoe Black, and Sergeant Hubert Rich, members of the ROTC personnel, received awards at the annual achievement awards day in November.

Mrs. Undine Smith Moore, associate professor of music, recently published three choral works: "Let Us Make Man in Our Own Image," "Long Fare You Well," and the spiritual, "Bound for Canaan's Land."

Recent lecturers at VSC include Dr. Harriet Cohn, pianist and author; Professor Joseph Kaplan, professor of physics at the University of California; and Major Jesse J. Mayes, professor of military science at VSC.

■

Twelve student nurses at the NORFOLK DIVISION, Virginia State College, received their caps, certification of completion of one year's professional nursing education, in November. Mrs. Pauline T. Carter, assistant professor of nursing at the college, was the main speaker.

■

Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary, was featured speaker at BOSTON UNIVERSITY's united Sunday evening Protestant program on November 13. His subject was "What Drives the American Negro Student?"

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The possibilities for a united Africa were discussed by the head of the Ghana delegation to UN, Alex Quaison-Sackey, on November 20.

Dean Howard Thurman of the university's Marsh Chapel made three major lecture appearances during the current academic year, two at institutions of higher learning in Kansas and Indiana, and one at a religious conference in Baltimore, Maryland.

■

Dr. Clarence Senior, consultant to the secretary of labor of Puerto Rico and a lecturer in sociology at Columbia University, was a lecturer at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE November 28-29.

A study by Dr. Charles H. Thompson, dean of the graduate school at Howard, places Morehouse at the top in three categories and high in all other categories. The study, published in the summer, 1960, issue of the *Journal of Negro Education,* is concerned with 192 senior colleges. Forty-nine of these are Negro private and church-related colleges, 34 Negro tax-supported colleges, and 109 white private and church-related colleges.

Morehouse was host December 3 to the conference "Students for Africa," sponsored by American and Canadian college and university students (more than 180) in ten West African countries during the summer of 1960.

Keynote address was delivered by Dr. James H. Robinson, founder and director of OCA and pastor of the Church of the Master in New York City. Dr. Horace Mann Bond, dean of the school of education at Atlanta and president of the American Society of African Culture, was speaker at the dinner meeting.

■

Photographs of twenty-two works in the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY Contemporary American Art Collection appear in Cedric Dover's *American Negro Art,* published simultaneously in America and England. There are also reproductions of many other works which have been shown in the Atlanta University Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture and Prints by Negro Artists.

Frankie V. Adams, acting dean of the school of social work at Atlanta, has been named delegate to the White House Conference on Aging to be held in Washington, January 9-12, 1961.

Dean Samuel Z. Westerfield of the Atlanta school of business admintration left in November for a three-month tour of Africa. His trip is the first step in the implementation of a new program to start at AU in the fall of 1961. The African program is financed by a $30,000 grant from the Charles E. Merrill Trust.

■

Theodore Ntoampe of Basutoland, South Africa, is the recipient of THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-University Press Club of Michigan foreign journalism fellowship. Mr. Ntoampe is a newspaper editor, the composer of more than thirty songs, a poet, and the founder of a political party.

Book Reviews

SOME AFRICAN TYPES

West African Vignettes. **By Elton C. Fax. New York: The American Society of African Culture, 1960. 63 pp. $2.00.**

Although this slender book of drawings is confined to scenes of West Africa, it manages to suggest the flavor of all black Africa, which testifies, I am sure, to both broad understanding and skill on the part of the artist. In the preface to the book, the author and artist tells why he wished to visit Africa and, in so doing, indicates that, in finding his way among people, he deliberately set up certain guideposts for himself. He elected to avoid as much as possible a merely urban collection of African views, and to seek out, on purpose, the African workers and the ordinary folk. At the very start of his journey, he decided not to allow himself to be drawn to groups of the elite or to circles of the privileged among West Africans for fear that he might be influenced by a special point of view. Whether one agrees or not with these precautions taken by Mr. Fax, it is, nonetheless, easy to prove by the results that such reservations could have had no restrictive influence on his honesty, good taste, and directness of aim as an artist: For, indeed, this book of sketches is a well-selected catalog of types intended to portray the African in the most natural way.

Careful to distinguish his subject matter by both vocation and social status, the artist nevertheless offers his readers a wide variety of Negro types which delights the eye as sculpturesque vignettes on pages, the whiteness of which seems to serve as a fascinatingly appropriate substitute for brilliant sunlight and local color. He shows the African at work, as he passes along the streets on the way to work or returns home from the marketplace. In deftly rhythmic drawings, he depicts the relaxed loquacity of the African male, who engages his fellow-worker in conversation while both await the passing of a street parade or some other public demonstration. Many of his subjects seem to look upon the artist with an engaging, defiant, or inquisitive smile. None seems to have been unhappy to be sketched by him. While there are no more than two somewhat formal studies of representative members of the governing class—Sékou Touré, Prime Minister of Guinea, and William V. S. Tubman, President of Liberia—it is perfectly clear that Mr. Fax did not regard such persons, nor the leader of the National Federation of Ghana Women, nor even the police, as lacking in a certain suave, though altogether natural, dignity; for his pencil seems to equate personal charm with the distinctive — yet ineffable — qualties of race.

"The common folk of Kano, like folks everywhere, love pomp and ceremony. These two men and the boy, dressed in their 'Sunday best,' wait under the desert sun for their chief to pass by." —West African Vignettes

"They are joined by these good looking girls in colorful head dress. . . ."
—West African Vignettes

Since none of these drawings rely upon color, it is to be assumed that Mr. Fax decided to fall back on his long experience as an illustrator with the formal precision of line and the tonal variety of blacks and greys. There is much to be said for this self-imposed limitation, since it frees the artist so completely from the necessity of imitating or interpreting either by exaggeration or understatement the kaleidoscopic values of Africa's "exotic" coloration. This, however, is the rock on which the bark of so many European artists, rushing to Africa with loaded impressionist brush in hand, has foundered. By dismissing color, Fax has been able to concentrate quite profitably on grace and charm of movement and truth of expression.

It is of especial significance to note that Mr. Fax received assistance with the expenses of his journey through West Africa from the American Society of African Culture; and it is not without purpose to express the hope that many more artists will find it possible to visit Africa and to stay long enough to become thoroughly familiar with the people and the landscape. They should be encouraged also to take a hint from Elton Fax and interpret, rather than merely to document, through the media of drawing, color, and the plastic forms of sculpture. Is it then purposeless to hope that this little book signalizes the beginning of a new type of cultural exchange by which American artists will be sent to Africa and African artists brought to the United States so that both may serve the constructive purposes of international friendship and, at the same time, advance the opportunities of talent and culture?

JAMES A. PORTER
Head, Department of Art
Howard University

WORLD TRAVELER

***Adventures in Black and White.* By Philippa Schuyler. New York: Robert Speller & Sons, Inc., 1960. 302pp. Illustrated from Photographs. $4.95.**

In 1938, a Negro girl of six appeared in a piano recital over the CBS network. Deems Taylor, eminent conductor and composer, who had been asked to report on it, said of her: "A born musician"; her performance was "a miracle."

That was Philippa Schuyler, who after brilliant triumphs on the American concert stage, is now, and has been for the past fourteen years, concert *artiste* to the world at large. To this amazing career she has now added something no less astonishing: a book on her experiences in more than sixty countries of the world—from England, to India, to China, Japan, Malaya; from Ethiopia and Uganda across Africa to Ghana and Nigeria; from Morocco southward to the Belgian Congo; from Mexico and most of the countries south to Argentina. A woman, traveling alone in so many lands strange to her, can have unexpected adventures, even when a concert *artiste*, and especially when she is eager to know all about them as Miss Schuyler is.

Adventures in Black and White is full of interesting persons, from rulers to rogues; and there were times when her very life was in danger; and all this is told in such rich, vivid language, and, withal, such ripe philosophy and understanding that one could imagine her to be in her fifties rather than her twenties. As one who is somewhat satiated with books, I found it a rare and exciting pleasure reading her book, so much so that my big problem is how to do sufficient justice to what is a literary prize.

Once in Nigeria, when plane connections failed, she had an engagement six hundred miles away. A taxi driver and his companion, both villains, told

her it was only 300 miles, and that they'd put her there in thirty hours. On the way, becoming suspicious, she said she had forgotten her money and left it at the hotel, and since this was what they were after they turned back. Once more at the hotel, she was told of the narrow escape she had had. In Buenos Aires, while in a taxi, she found herself in the midst of an anti-Peron riot with bombs bursting, bullets flying, and people being killed. She escaped then by the skin of her teeth. Sometimes, too, funds ran short because of crooked managers. From one packed concert she not only didn't get a penny, but she had to pay her hotel bill herself.

Shapely and beautiful, she had offers of marriage from both "races." In London, one noted African painter tried to rush her into marriage and add her to his stable of women. In Venezuela when she dropped her purse with all her money, a young man ran up with it before she missed it. He was "handsome" and she "felt drawn to him." Her description of him is typical of the fine ones throughout the book: "He had a refined yet voluptuous face, which seemed to brood with every emotion save that of tenacity, where pleasure, cruelty, idealism, sensuality and generosity mingled — where the sombre, the vicious, the spiritual; and the poetic, had each their force, their exhalation and their domain."

At that moment, however, an acquaintance arrives. Very rich, he wants to rush her into marriage. He promises her everything, including a trip to Paris where he would load her with jewels. After their marriage, he would resume his great passion—starting revolutions. She would be his "Joan of Arc." But her moving so fast from country to country saves her before the plans of these admirers could materialize. Some time later, however, she meets this same man in the Congo, who presses his offer again. He had just returned from France, Israel, and Egypt where he had unsuccessfully tried to stir up revolts.

Especially interesting are her descriptions of Africa, the animals, the dances, her meal of flying ants, the people, the leaders. There is something, too, of the little known rite of female circumcision. Four of the finest passages in the book are descriptions of her meeting with Elisabeth, Queen of the Belgians; the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan; Haile Selassie of Ethiopia; and Albert Schweitzer. She is shown with these in some of the 43 pictures in the book; also in others with the King and Queen of Malaya; the President of Madagascar; the King of Toro and the King of Uganda. One very interesting picture is that of the author photographed at the age of eight with Mayor LaGuardia of New York City.

Philippa Schuyler in front of a Phoenician tomb near Beirut, Lebanon, while on her way to East Africa.

Miss Schuyler at a passageway leading to the depths of a castle in Byblos, Lebanon.

If there is a more interesting book on travel in our times, I've never read it. There is a glowing introduction by Deems Taylor.

J. A. ROGERS
World-traveler and author of *Sex and Race, As Nature Leads, Africa's Gift to America,* and other books.

***The Negro in American Civilization.* By Nathaniel Weyl. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960. XI+360pp. $6.00.**

The main aim here is to prove the Negro innately inferior and unenlightened and that nurture has not helped him to assimilate to American culture. Although Mr. Weyl does not write a scientific refutation of the racial theories of the environmentalists, he does quote enough white-supremacy apologists of apparent authority to give the impression that he does. His arguments are *ex parte.* He discusses the American Negro group as if it were a biological race, and nowhere in his book does he give a precise definition of what he means by "Negro." Whenever the findings of a reputable scientist contradict his thesis, he is likely to label the man a "leftist sociologist," or, as in the case of Dr. Myrdal, "the Swedish socialist"; and in the instance of Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, "pro-Soviet."

He frequently quotes authors out of context, as he does with Dr. Herskovits on page 139. In one instance he puts the words of a translator into the mouth of the author. On page 343, Footnote 25: "For instance, Euclides da Cunha in his Brazilian classic, *Os Sertões* (1902), noted that the word *Capanga* means both hired assassin or gangster and backwoods Negro. *Rebellion in the Backlands,* Phoenix Books, Chicago, 1944, 495." If the curious reader looks up *capanga* in Samuel Putnam's English version of *Rebellion in the Backlands,* he will find the word listed at page 489 under "List of Terms in Regional Use." The "and backwoods Negro" is Putnam, not Euclides da Cunha. Da Cunha (*Os Sertões*) uses *capanga* only twice to refer to men, once to refer to a *knapsack* (which it also means), but never in the sense Mr. Weyl suggests. Apparently Mr. Weyl's eagerness to buttress his argument of innate Negro criminality prompts his distortion.

Mr. Weyl has, it seems, great faith in the findings of the so-called intelligence tests, but he ignores the deeply significant fact that intelligence tests cannot in themselves help us to differentiate between innate capacity and environmental influences. Nor does he point out the fact that the socio-economic status of Negro and white subjects are unequal. Nowhere in the New

World do Negroes enjoy equal opportunities with the whites. Brazil's approximate equality, however, has produced such notables as the philosopher Farias Brito; the philologist and engineer Teodoro de Sampaio; the statesman Baron of Cotegipe; the composer José Mauricio, *et al.*

Such racial thinking, which our author is constantly disavowing, follows naturally from Mr. Weyl's Negrophobia. And, equally naturally, they are complemented by his vehement objection to public school integration, the real purpose of his book. His position, too, is initially clarified by segregationist Dr. C. J. McGurk's "Introduction." Dr. McGurk, an apologist for segregation, authored "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences" (*U. S. News & World Report*, September 21, 1956), a superficial study based on the findings of intelligence tests. Mr. Weyl is said to be an authority on Communist subversion. Whether he is or not this reviewer does not know. But this book reveals him as a more urbane, more academic McCarthy who finds communist influence in every idea or action which suggests Negro equality. He needs 360 pages to rant. A Southern segregationist would put it in six words: "Keep the niggers in their place."

J.W.I.

***The Reluctant Africa.* By Louis E. Lomax. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. 117 pp. $2.95.**

Mr. Lomax, an American Negro, thinks of himself, for some quixotic reason, as a "reluctant African." Yet he is no more African, even a "reluctant" one, than Eisenhower is a German or Kennedy a Gael or Sandburg a Swede. Moreover, Mr. Lomax labors under the disability of a profound ignorance of Africa and things African, and this limitation makes his book a trite one of shallow, surface reporting. He reports nothing that a student of Africa did not know all along.

LOOKING & LISTENING

(Continued from page 29)

threatening letters and that they were offered money to endorse Soviet policy untruthfully.

Two of them, Mr. A. R. Amar, of Uganda, and Mr. T. U. C. Okonkwo, of Nigeria, claim to have been elected by the majority of African students in Moscow as members of the executive committee of the African Union of Students. They say that at a secret meeting in Moscow this summer, they were charged by their committee with 'the task of publishing the facts about the treatment of African students in Moscow at the first opportunity.'

As an example of brutality, they say that Mr. Benjamin Omburo, from Kenya, who is still in the Soviet Union, has asked them to tell his story: he was with a Russian girl at a bus stop, when a policeman asked for her name and address. They were forcibly dragged to a telephone booth, to which more police were called. 'When I claimed that I was concerned in this affair, and should go to the police station with the girl, they mauled me, beat me, pushed me.'

'At a party, it is said that a Somali student got into an argument with a Russian student. The Communist got the help of three friends, who made friendly gestures to the Somali student and at the end of the party, invited him back to their rooms. Unsuspecting, he followed. They led him downstairs and beat him unconscious.'

They claim that faculty members of Moscow State University told Soviet students that it was shameful to mix Africans with Asians, and that when they have complained about insults, to the authorities, no action has been taken.

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